

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 564

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9388

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AHG MEETING NOVEMBER 12

1. SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSION OF BILATERALS, FRG REPORTED SPANISH CONSUL HAD BEEN INFORMED BY MEMBER POLISH DEL THAT EAST HAD MADE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL BUT POLE DID NOT DIVULGE CONTENTS. GROUP AGREED TO CONTINUE TO POLICY OF CONFIDENTIALITY UNTIL VIOLATION BY OTHER SIDE PROVEN. US AND ITALIAN REPS REPORTED CONVERSATIONS WITH RUMANIANS, WHO REITERATED PROPOSAL THAT PLENARY ISSUE COMMUNIQUE STATED NEUTRALS WOULD BE INFORMED. FRG REP REPORTED ON VISIT TO AHG REPS TO BRUSSELS AND SAID SOME DELEGATES FELT THEY WOULD HAVE TO INFORM PUBLIC OPINION OF THEIR REACTION TO SOVIET PROPOSAL IN EVENT OF PRESS LEAK OF ITS CONTENTS. GROUP

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AGREED TO BEGIN WORK ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WITH VIEW OF PRESENTING

IT BY NOVEMBER 26 AT LATEST AND ACCEPTEK US SUGGESTION THAT PAPER BE OBSCURE ON POINTS OF NATO DISAGREEMENT AND UK SUGGESTION TO CONSIDER MAKING PRESENTATION ON DATA IN THE INTERIM. SALIENT POINT OF LONG DISCUSSION OF IMPORVEMENTS ON DRAFTS OF THEME PRESENTATIONS REVOLVED ABOUT BELGIAN FORMULATIONS DESIGNED TO PUSH OVERT VERIFICATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. BILATERALS. FRG REP BEHRENDTS REPORTED THAT FRG DEPREP (HOFFMAN) HAD BEEN INFORMED BY COUNSELOR OF SPANISH EMBASSY VIENNA THAT POLISH DELETATION HAD INFORMED COUNSELOR IN COURSE OF FILLING HIM IN ON COURSE OF MBFR NGOTIATIONS THUS FAR, THAT WARSAW PACT SIDE HAD PRESENTED A PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, POLISH DEL MEMBER HAD NOT ELABORATED ON ITS CONTENTS. NORWESGIAN REP (VAERNO) SAID THAT NORWEGIAN DEL HAD BEEN INFORMING SWEDES AND FINNS AND WERE PLANNING MEETING WITH THEM ON NOV 13 AND WANTED TO KNOW HOW FRANK HE COULD BE WITH THEM. HE WARNED THAT ALLIED CREDIBILITY WOULD SUFFER IF HE DID NOT INFORM THEM ON SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE CHAIRMAN (ITALIAN REP CAGIATI) SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ASCERTAIN IF ANY DETAILS HAD BEEN REVEALED BY POLES TO SPANIARD. IF POLE HAD NOT BEEN SPECIFIC THEN ALLIES SHOULD NOT BE, LEST ALLIES BE ACCUSED OF INDISCRETION. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) NOTED THAT FRG REP HAD STRESSED NEED FOR SECRECY IN HIS REPORT AT BRUSSELS. BELGIAN ACTING REP SAID POLISH REP (STRULAK) HAD TOLD HIM HE WOULD SPEAK AT NOV 13 PLENARY BUT POLISH REP DID NOT KNOW WHETHER ANY OTHER EASTERN DELEGATION WOULD SPEAK. WARSAW PACT DELEGATIONS WERE TO MEET AFTERNOON OF NOV 12.

2. US REP REPORTED DISCUSSION WITH ROMANIAN REP (AMBASSADOR ANINOIU) AT WHICH ROMANIAN REP REITERATED VIEW THAT CONFERENCE SHOUD PUBLISH COMMUNIQUE STATEMENT THAT NEUTRALS WOULD BE KEPT INFORMED IN APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK. US REP SAID HE HAD REPLIED TO ROMANIAN REP THAT THIS WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AND THAT INFORMAL BILATERAL CONTACTS WERE BEST WAY. CHAIRMAN REPORTED THAT HE HAD HAD SIMILAR CONVERSATION WITH ROMANIANS, WHO HAD STRESSED THAT NEUTRALS WERE MORE USEFUL TO WEST THAN THE OTHERS AT HELSINKI.

3. CANADIAN REP REPORTED THAT HE HAD MET HANS TAUBER, AN AUSTRIAN MFA OFFICIAL HE HAD KNOWN IN BERLIN SOME YEARS AGO WHO IS NOW WORKING IN OFFICE OF AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR, AND HAD OFFERED TAUBER COOPERATION IN GENERAL TERMS. CANADIAN REP THOUGHT THAT TAUBER

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WOULD PROBABLY USE HIM AS AN INFORMAL CHANNEL TO INFORM AUSTRIAN GOVT.

4. NOV 9 REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP REPRESENTATIVES TO BRUSSELS. FRG REP REPORTED THAT NAC HAD BEEN DISTRACTED BY MUCH OTHER BUSINESS AND HAD BEEN ABLE ONLY TO GIVE CURSORY GLANCE AT AHG WRITTEN REPORT WHICH UNFORTUNATELY HAD BEEN CIRCULATED ONLY MORNING OF NOV 9. HE HAD TOLD COUNCIL THAT PRESS GUIDANCE HAD ALREADY BEEN SUBMITTED BY

AHG, BUT SOME MEMBERS HAD OVERLOOKED IT. SOME MEMBERS HAD EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT WEST HAD "LOST INITIATIVE." FRG REP HAD TRIED TO CONVINCE INDIVIDUAL DELEGATES THAT INITIATIVE HAD NOT BEEN LOST, THAT ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS HAD MORE SUBSTANCE, BUT THAT APPROVAL OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WAS NEEDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SOME DELEGATES WARNED THAT IF SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS LEAKED, AND MOST THOUGHT IT WOULD BE, THEIR GOVTS WOULD HAVE TO INFORM PUBLIC OPINION OF THEIR VIEWS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL. THE COUNCIL INSTRUCTED AHG TO CONTINUE TO STUDY POSSIBLE REACTIONS TO PRESS LEAK AND SPC, THE MILITARY COMMITTED TO STUDY SUBSTANCE OF PROPOSAL, AND SPC TO SPEED UP WORK ON STABILIZING MEASURES. AHG WOULD BE JUDGE OF TIMING OF PRESENTATION OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL.

5. CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED THAT AHG WORK UP A DRAFT FRAMEWORK, KEEPING IN MIND POINTS 49 AND 50 OF ALLIED POSITION PAPER, WHICH SAY CLEARLY THAT FRAMEWORK SHOULD BE PRESENTED, WITHOUT SPECIFYING CONTENT. UK REP (ROSE) STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AS BASIC NEGOTIATING POSITION, AND SAID THAT AHG SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVE IN DRAFTING TEXT OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, WHICH MUST THEN BE CLEARED WITH NAC AND GOVTS. HE ALSO NOTED OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES ON PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. WHILE HE HOPED SPC COULD REPORT BY END OF WEEK, THIS WOULD MAKE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE FOR PRESENTATIONS, THERE WERE THREE POSSIBILITIES: (A) GENERAL STATEMENT WITH FEW DETAILS, (B) WRITTEN MEMORANDUM TO BE TABLED, (C) OR COMBINATION OF SOVIET MODELS. HE NOTED THAT AHG HAD AGREED TO PRESENT SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS ON NOV 20, BUT THIS WOULD NOW PREEMPT PRESENTATION OF FRAMEWORK. ON BASIS EARLIER SUGGESTION BY US REP, UK REP SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTING A PRESENTATION ON DATA AND HAVING ONLY ONE PLENARY WEEK OF NOV 18.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 565
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. BELGIAN ACTING REP SAID ONLY LAST TWO ALTERNATIVES ACCEPTABLE SINCE SOVIETS HAD TABLED A WRITTEN PROPOSAL. HE WOULD PREFER A WRITTEN MEMORANDUM TO RUSSIANS WITH SHORT ORAL STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING IT. HE FAVORED AHG DRAFTING SUCH MEMORANDUM IN FORM OF RECOMMENDATION TO NAC. CANADIAN REP WARNED THAT SPC MAY NOT RESOLVE DIFFERENCES ON CONSTRAINTS IN TWO TO THREE WEEKS, SINCE IT DEPENDS ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM GOVTS. GREEK REP SUGGESTED EXPEDITING AHG ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET PROPOSAL IN TIME TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY SPC. CHAIRMAN AGREED THAT NOV 26 DATE WAS BEST TARGET, BUT US REP URGED ACTION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, NOT FIXED TO ANY DATE, AND TO FIND SOME MECHANISM TO BRIDGE OVER CURRENT POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT WITHIN ALLIANCE. CHAIRMAN SAID A DRAFTING GROUP SHOULD BE SET UP TO GET WORK ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL.
BELGIAN ACTING

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REP SAID THAT DRAFTING GROUP SHOULD BE OPEN-ENDED AND NOT INTERFERE WITH AHG MEETINGS. US DEP REP WARNED THAT ALLIED SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO COMPETE WITH SOVIETS, IN PREPARING THEIR FRAMEWORK SINCE ALLIES CANNOT ACHIEVE SAME DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY.

7. UK REP ASKED FOR GUIDANCE TO DRAFTING GROUP AND US REP SUGGESTED THAT DRAFTING GROUP MEET NOV 13 AFTER AHG MEETING. HE ENDORSED SUGGESTION OF UK REP THAT DATA PRESENTATION BEST SOLUTION. UK REP ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE SUBSTANTIVELY USEFUL AND WOULD ALSO GO BEYOND ANYTHING SOVIETS HAD DONE. FRG REP ENDORSED THIS AND SUGGESTED FURTHER THAT IF SPC AGREES ON PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PRESENT A DRAFT AGREEMENT ALONG WITH FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. IT WAS AGREED THAT IT WAS NOT FEASIBLE THAT PRESENTATION COULD BE IN FORM OF A TREATY, AS WAS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. US DEP REP POINTED OUT THAT WHILE IT WAS PERHAPS A GOOD IDEA TO TRY DRAFTING A PAPER TO BE TABLED ACCOMPANYING ALLIED STATEMENT ON FRAMEWORK, ALLIES SHOULD BE CAREFUL TO MAINTAIN PERSPECTIVE. ALLIES WERE NOT IN POSITION TO TABLE

FORMAL COUNTERPART TO SOVIET DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR VARIETY OF REASONS, INCLUDING FACT THAT DRAFT TREATY ON LINES OF ALLED PROPOSAL WOULD BE COMPLICATED UNDERTAKING. ALLIES SHOULD BE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY THAT TRYING TO MATCH SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT WITH A LESSER PRESENTATION COULD MAKE THEIR CASE APPEAR WEAK OR RISIBLE IN COMPARISON AND THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE TO USE THEIR FRAMEWORK STATEMENT AS A COUNTERPART

TO SOVIET PROPOSAL RATHER THAN TO TRY TO TABLE A MORE FORMAL DOCUMENT.

8. DISCUSSION OF OUTSTANDING DRAFTS. IN CONCLUDING DISCUSSION DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO MINOR EDITORIAL IMPROVEMENTS ON FRG AND US PRESENTATIONS FOR NOV 13, AND TO AHG DRAFT ANALYSIS OF SOVIET PROPOSAL, SEVERAL CONCEPTUAL SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE ON CANADIAN AND BELGIAN PAPERS FOR NOV 15 ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND TABILIZING MEASURE RESPECTIVELY. BELGIAN PAPER STRESSED THAT ANY VERIFICATION ACTIVITIES MUST BE OVERT AND OPEN TO ALL PARTICIPANTS, US DEP REP OBJECTED TO BELGIAN PAPER'S IMPLICATION THAT OVERT VERIFICATION MEASURES AND VERIFICATION OF CONSTRAINST WERE CATEGORICAL ALLIANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR AGREEMENT, HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO SECURE EASTERN AGREEMENT ON VERIFICATION BY OTHER THAN NATIONAL MEANS AND THAT IT
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COULD PUSH WHOLE CONCEPT OF CERIFICATION TO POINT OF TOTAL REJECTION IF ALLIES INSISTED ON VERIFYING CONSTRAINTS AS WELL AS REDUCTIONS. WHEN PRESSED FORMOTIVATION BEHIND HIS FORMULATION, BELGIAN ACTING REP REFERRED TO PRESS REPORT OF US-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON RESTRICTED VERIFICATION AND SAID THAT HIS FORMULATION PRECLUDED EVENTUALITY OF VERIFICATION TEAM COMPOSED OF US-UK-FRG AND SEVERAL WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, EXCLUDING OTHER ALLIED PARTICIPANTS. HE ARGUED THAT, FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES, THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE VERY DEFINITE ABOUT ITS DESIRE TO ACHIEVE NEGOTIATED INSPECTION.

9. US REP MADE CRITIQUE OF CANADIAN STATEMENT ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND STABILIZING MEASURES ON GROUNDS THAT ITS WORDING WAS TOO INDEFINITE AND INSUFFICIENTLY FORCEFUL. WORDING SHOULD BE CHANGED BY DRAFTING GROUP TO GIVE MORE OF AN IMPRESSION THAT ALLIED VIEWS ARE INTENDED AS CONCEPTS FOR SERIOUS STUDY BY EAST. PAPER WAS REMANDED TO DRAFTING GROUP.HUMES

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